DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 183 447 SO 012 373

AUTHOR Hurt, Thomas C.
TITLE Moral Education and Public Schools: Evolution in 19th Century Wisconsin.
PUB DATE Apr 80
NOTE 21p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Boston, MA, April 7-11, 1980)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Constitutional History; Court Litigation; Educational Attitudes; *Educational History; *Educational Practice; Elementary Secondary Education; *Ethical Instruction; *Public Schools; *Religious Education; Superintendent Role
IDENTIFIERS Wisconsin

ABSTRACT

As evidenced by official documents of state superintendents, Protestantism and Bible-reading ceased to comprise the foundation for moral education in the public schools of Wisconsin by 1890. Although the 1848 Wisconsin Constitution mandated against sectarian instruction in public schools, the "Annual Reports" and "Decision Appeals" from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction contended that the Bible, the tangible symbol of mainstream Protestantism, was utilized for religious/moral education and was not considered sectarian instruction. The controversy over the place of religious/moral instruction in the schools became heated as people of other faiths entered the state in greater numbers, specifically German-Americans who were either Lutheran or Roman Catholic. In 1858 the school board of Watertown banned the Bible from public school classrooms. In 1860, when Roman Catholics reported the largest increase in communicants in the last decade, the opposition to protestant practice in the public schools grew. The state superintendent, however, defended Christianity in the schools and his assistant ruled in four cases that Bible-reading could not be termed sectarian instruction. By 1870 Methodists asserted that the common school was the offspring of the Bible and identified the assailants as Catholics and atheists. Finally, in 1886 the State Supreme Court ruled that Bible-reading in schools was sectarian instruction and violated the Wisconsin Constitution. By 1890, interests in public education had turned from religion to fostering good citizenship. (Author/KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED183447

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Thomas C. Hunt

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

MORAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS: EVOLUTION IN 19TH CENTURY WISCONSIN

by

Thomas C. Hunt

College of Education
Virginia Polytechnic Institute &
State University

SP 012 373

Paper Presented to the

American Educational Research Association
Division F: History and Historiography

Annual Meeting
Boston, April 7-11, 1980

NOT TO BE QUOTED WITHOUT PERMISSION

Several years ago the educational historian Michael B. Katz wrote that "public schools always have been more concerned with morals than with minds."[1] The precise nature of the relationship between public education and morality has evolved with the years, but the concern remains. Recent Gallup polls, for instance, show that Americans favor prayer in public schools (77% to 17%);[2] support instruction in morals (79% to 11%);[3] and feel that public schools should "take on a share" of responsibility for the "moral behavior" of students.[4]

This paper will study the evolution of the basis for moral education in the public schools of Wisconsin from their inception in the 1840s to 1890. Religion, Protestant vintage, originally comprised the basis for moral education, featured by the reading of the King James version of the Bible with attendant devotional exercises. In 1890 the Supreme Court of Wisconsin declared that practice unconstitutional, the first in the nation to so rule.[5] The Court's decision testified that, officially speaking, the beliefs and practices of mainstream Protestantism had ceased to serve as the foundation for moral education in the public schools of Wisconsin.

Official state documents, in particular those issued by the State Superintendents of Public Instruction (Annual Reports and Decisions in Appeals), will serve as primary foci for studying the evolution.

Religion and Schooling at the time of Statehood

As the Wisconsin territory became more populated in the 1840s a movement arose to establish common schools. The movement grew stronger as more residents came to look to the schools as a means of bringing together a heterogeneous population.[6]

The Wisconsin Constitutional Convention of 1846 attempted to establish such schools. The Education Committee, in an Article on Education, schools and school funds," recommended:

> Section 4. The legislature shall provide for a system of common schools, which will be as nearly uniform as may be throughout the state, and inasmuch as the public schools should be equally free to children of all religious persuasions, no book of religious doctrine or belief and no sectarian instruction shall be used or permitted in any public school.[7]

While there was some disagreement over the Education article, religion was not among the debated subjects. The final version, stated below, deleted the "no book of religious doctrine or belief." One member of the Convention reported that this was done "after some discussion in the convention."[8] The amended version, said to be so popular that "but one or two voices were heard against it," read as follows:

> The legislature shall provide for a system of common schools, which shall be as nearly uniform as may be throughout the state, and the common schools shall be equally free to all children, and no sectarian instruction shall be used or permitted in any common school in this state.[9]

The exclusion of the words "no book of religious doctrine or belief": from the prohibitions against sectarian instruction bolsters the thesis that reading the Bible in public school was not considered to constitute sectarian instruction. Subsequent statements by government and educational leaders augment this position. There is no question but that the Bible was recognized as <u>the</u> religious book, and the practice of reading it in public schools was common throughout the state and nation.

The voters, however, rejected the 1846 Constitution. Two years later they approved a revised form and Wisconsin was admitted to the Union. The 1848 Constitution also dealt with religious issues. The Constitution referred to religious liberty in Article I, Section 18:

> The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed; nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; nor shall any control of, or interference with, the rights of conscience be permitted, or any preference be given by law to any religious establishment or modes of worship; nor shall any money be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies, or religious or theological seminaries.[10]

The Constitution also dealt with the question of free schools and sectarian instruction in Article X, Section 3:

> The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable; and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four and twenty years; and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein.[11]

The sentiment against sectarian instruction in Public schools is made more evident by the 57-2 defeat of a proposed amendemnt which would have allowed sectarian instruction to be added to that clause.[12] It is further demonstrated by Article X, Section 6 which prohibited sectarian instruction in the state university.[13] The words "no book of religious doctrine or belief shall be permitted in any public school" were excluded from the prohibition, which indicates that the Bible was not considered a sectarian book.[14]

The Revised Statutes of the State of Wisconsin, 1849 also dealt with the question of sectarian instruction in the public schools. Section 48 of Chapter 9 held the State Superintendent of Schools responsible to "discourage the use of sectarian books and sectarian instruction in the schools." The district boards had the power, according to these *Statutes*, to determine which books would be used in public schools and which would not.[15]

The Conflict Begins - The First Decisions

The Constitution of Wisconsin designated the State Superintendent of Public Instruction as the chief educational officer of the state. From the outset, the occupants of this office were involved with the question of religious practices in the schools. Their Reports, as well as their Decisions in Appeals, support the contention that the Bible, the tangible symbol of mainstream Protestantism, was utilized for religious/moral education in the public schools of early Wisconsin, but that it was not considered sectarian instruction. For instance, in 1850 Superintendent Eleazar Root responded to an inquiry that since "under our laws the Bible is not regarded as a sectarian book, the District Board of any district may introduce it into the school of such district if they think proper."[16] Less than a year later he reiterated this position:

> Our Constitution prohibits all sectarian instruction in the common schools, whether political or religious, but it does not prohibit simply the reading of the Bible in school for the Bible under our law is not regarded as a sectarian book.[17]

Root, an Episcopal clergyman and native of New York, left office and moved to St. Augustine, Florida where he assumed the rectorship of Trinity Episcopal Church.[18] Azel P. Ladd, a New Hampshire native, succeeded Root.[19] He was of like mind to Root when it came to the use of the Bible in the public schools of the state, declaring that "there can be no doubt, under our laws, of the Bible being a lawful book to be read in common schools." He did not mean that the Bible was to be used as a text to teach reading, however. He made that clear when he argued that to use the Bible in the same way as other school books would cause the students to lose reverence for it.[20] The Bible was a lawful book to be used in schools in a unique way, yet was not to be considered a sectarian book. This is evident from the decision he gave which stated that sectarian books were forbidden by the Constitution from being placed in school libraries.[21]

In his *Report* to the state authorities Ladd presented his ideas on what the moral function of the common schools in Wisconsin involved:

> The moral sense and the affections are means which a kind creator has provided for educating the character of youth. The child should be taught to rely on his own consciousness of right as his rule of conduct . . . . He should be taught to despise and shun falsehood, dishonor, and whatever is vicious or base--to admire and practice truth, temperance, and whatever is virtuous and noble. He should be taught to love virtue for its loveliness, to hate evil because of the evil, and not from a selfish hope of reward or coward fear of punishment.[22]

Ladd believed the public schools could accomplish this moral education, if they stayed free of political or ecclesiastical control, without interfering in the domains of politics or church, while offering "common ground upon which all sects and parties can meet."[23]

The Conflict Increases

It is evident, from the advice given by H. A. Wright, the next State Superintendent, that some Wisconsin citizens were opposed to the current religious programs in common schools. In the event of controversy, Wright advised an appellant to prudence and to "discontinue the use of the Bible and the exercise of prayer in the School room, if such book and exercise are objected to be the parents or guardians of any child attending such school." He apologized that family illness prevented him from giving more attention to an issue which he acknowledged was "assuming more prominence" in the state.[24] Several months later he admitted that his predecessors had felt the Bible to be a lawful book for school use. However, in his opinion, its use "should be subject to many restrictions," since "the common English version is wholly repudiated by a very large class of our population." He declared that, due to the strained situation which could develop in a community, a teacher could not require the Bible to be read as a matter of school discipline. He expressed doubt that "it is right that the scholars should be compelled to listen to that which their consciences tell them is repugnant to the doctrines of the Church."[25]

A. Constantine Barry succeeded Wright. Born in New York, he had been ordained a Universalist minister in 1836. He came to the State Superintendency from Racine, where he had been that city's first Superintendent of Schools.[26] Barry felt that the study of morals in public schools should be required by law since "too much attention cannot be paid to the development of the moral nature." The public schools, of all grades, had the task of being "nurseries of goodness, as well as learning."[27] This was extremely important, Barry felt, because intellectual education could be individually and socially detrimental unless it were "under the guidance and control of moral principles." This primacy of the moral function in schools follows from his belief that man's moral nature was his "divinest part."[28]

The controversy over the place of religion/morality in public schools became more heated as people of other faiths than mainstream Protestantism entered the state in greater numbers. Watertown was one of Wisconsin's cities which had a diverse ethnic and religious population. Many German-Americans, a number of whom were Lutheran or Catholic, had settled there. A controversy arose over the use of the Bible in that city's public schools. The local board decided to banish the Bible from the public school classrooms as a result of the affair.

In 1858 one member of the board wrote then Superintendent Lyman C. Draper for his opinion in the controversy. Draper responded that he regretted the issue had arisen. He wrote that the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the reading of the Bible were not, in his opinion, sectarian practices. He felt that the inculcation of the moral virtues in students was the highest calling for teachers. In that light, Draper felt that the common sense of the people of Wisconsin would not consent to the banishment of the Bible from the common schools, thereby repudiating "its unequalled teachings of virtue and morality."[29]

Draper concluded his response with a testament about the singular importance of the Bible in the formation of character:

> But, you may ask, may not a majority of the School Board, if they see fit, utterly refuse to tolerate the Bible, prayer and moral instruction in the public school? We might obstinately and insanely refuse food for our perishing bodies, as well as for our craving immortal minds, but we should only spite and injure ourselves by so rash and suicidal an act. I have no doubt the Board might legally thrust the Bible from the schoolhouse, and stifle the voice of prayer, for these are not among the studies prescribed by law; but they may very properly be regarded as among the 'such other branches of education as may be determined upon by the Board,' as the time allows, if the Board thinks proper to include them. The District Board, too, under the advice of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, has power to determine the text-books to be used; and I should ever feel bound to regard with special favor the use of the Bible in public schools, as preeminently first in importance among text-books for teaching the noblest principles of virtue, morality, patriotism and good order -- love and reverence for God -- charity and good will to man.[30]

Thus Wisconsin, after a little more than a decade of existence as a state, had become the scene of controversy over the place and function of the Bible in its common schools.

The Conflict Intensifies

The United States Census of 1860 listed Wisconsin as having a population of 775,681, of whom 276,927 were foreign-born. Of this latter number, 123,879 were natives of Germany, a total larger than the entire foreign-born population of the state in 1850.[31] Wisconsin, at this point in time, ranked second only to California among the states in the percentage of its residents hailing from a foreign country.[32]

Roman Catholics reported by far the largest increase of communicants in the past decade or so. They had listed "about 40,000" in 1848, but now reported 180,000 in 1860.[33] The opposition to Protestant practices, featured by devotional Bible-reading, in the public schools grew. Josiah L. Pickard, State

Superintendent from 1860-1864, testified to this in his memoirs. He recalled the appeals which were made to him during his tenure in office and stated, "The subject of religious exercises in schools was more frequently presented than any other."[34] Pickard wrote of the "vital interest" the state had in the training of children's moral faculties, and adjudged that the "chief obstacles" to the progress of the common schools were "bad morals and bad manners."[35] Sounding much like his predecessors, Pickard declared in 1862 that the permanence of the nation depended on "a large, liberal and truly Christian basis" existing in the public schools.[36] His assistant, A. J. Craig, identified the particular interpretation of this Christian basis when he ruled in four cases of Bible-reading in the public schools that the practice could not be termed sectarian instruction.[37]

The Bible also continued to be listed in the "recommended textbook" section of the State Superintendents' *Reports* in the 1860s. It was placed along with such works as Cowdery's *Moral Lessons*, in the division of textbooks which were to be used in "Moral Instruction."[38] The role of the Bible in the mission of infusing Christian principles, thus fulfilling the needs of "Moral Instruction," albeit on a "nonsectarian" basis, was reflected by an editorial which appeared in the *Wisconsin Journal of Education* in 1864 which stated:

> There is enough -- thank God there is enough -- of common christian ground in the Bible, for all sects to meet on and cultivate the spirit of Christian truth, love and brotherhood, without impaling themselves on sectarian points or irrevocably diverging into sectarian by-paths.[39]

John McMynn, who in 1861 had described the mission of common school teachers as one of "imparting moral and religious instruction, and in Christianizing the people," became Superintendent in 1864.[40] Among the books that the New York-born McMynn recommended for use in the public schools was Francis Wayland's *The Elements of Moral Science*, a prime example of the Protestant version of Christianity.

It examplified Protestant doctrine when it advised its readers that the Bible contained the will of God from which a person himself is to ascertain his moral duties.[41] Wayland's view of the exalted position of the New Testament is clearly shown in the following passage:

> The New Testament, being thus intended for the whole human race and being a final revelation of the will of God to man, may be supposed to contain all the moral precepts both of natural religion and of the Old Testament, together with whatever else it was important to our salvation that we should know.[42]

Shifting Concerns

The 1870 Census reveals that the evolutionary trend in the composition of Wisconsin citizens continued. Of the 1,064,985 inhabitants of the state, 364,499 were foreign born and 717,832 Wisconsin residents had either one or both parents foreign born.[43]

Catholic population gains were substantial during this period. In 1870 they numbered about 250,000, accounting for approximately 25 percent of the state's inhabitants.[44]

In 1870 Samuel Fallows was installed as State Superintendent of Schools. A Colonel in the "God and Morality" regiment in the Civil War, Fallows was a Methodist minister and had served as the Secretary of the Wisconsin Methodist Conference for several years prior to ascending to the highest educational office in the state.[45]

It was also in 1870 that the Methodists for the first time officially took note of the changing religious complexion of the state and its consequences for the common schools. In an aggressive statement they reiterated their position on the relationship of religion to the common schools. Among the points they asserted were: the common school system was the off-spring of the Bible; popular education existed only among Evangelical Protestants with Christianity alone being capable of furnishing the inspirational base for the system's existence; Protestant Christianity, since it had founded and maintained the system had incurred duties

to it, "It is especially bound to resist, and, if possible, to repel the assaults now made upon the system from whatever source or whatever pretext."[46]

The Methodists proceeded to identify the assailants: the Catholics and the atheists. The Bible, the Methodists averred, was the "voice of the nation." It contained the "cherished convictions" of a great people. Further, it was only through the perpetuation of the nonsectarian public school system, the offspring of the Bible, whereby there would be found in society "in all places of public trust . . . men and women of sound learning, of incorruptible integrity and of genuine piety."[47]

The importance State Superintendents of Instruction placed on moral education based on pan-Protestantism in public schools in the first 15-18 years after statehood is contained in their Annual Reports. After the Civil War, however, and increasingly so throughout the 1870s and 1880s new priorities became evident in their writings. Their primary concerns became the rights of the state in education and citizenship education, and they became preoccupied with issues related to those topics. They worried about schools being conducted in a foreign language (usually German); they advocated compulsory attendance legislation to be achieved in schools employing the English language; they were concerned over the growing private school enrollment; and they were vexed over the failure of many of these schools to report their attendance to their office. As these matters became central, moral education cast on a religious foundation, featuring Bible-based devotions declined in importance in their eyes. Articles in official educational periodicals at this time more regularly noted a distinction between the fields of morals and religion, referring to a natural base for morality in society in general and in the public schools in particular.[48]

Wisconsin was not an exception. Nationally, public educational officials during this period more and more referred to the role of the public schools in fostering good citizenship, a concern vital to the state, an activity to be conducted by the state, and founded on natural bases.[49] The ethnic "mix" of Wisconsin's society contributed to the shifted basis for moral education. In 1880, for instance, Wisconsin had a population of 1,315,497. Of this number 405,425 were born in foreign countries with 184,328 of these in Germany.[50] The 1880 Census does not contain statistics on religious denominations, but Catholic sources reported the greatest increases of any denomination - they now numbered an estimated 308,000, up from "about 245,000" in 1870.[51]

The movement away from pan-Protestantism in Wisconsin's public educational institutions was also reflected in the state legislature. In 1878 Mr. H. Smith introduced Assembly Bill 91A in the legislature, "To prohibit religious instruction, prayers and the reading of the Bible in the Universities named, and the public schools of Wisconsin."[52] This bill went down to defeat forty-eight to thirty, with twenty-two absent or not voting.[53] The same year a proposal by Senator Hudd, to "allow the right of conscience in matters of religious belief in State Institutions,"[54] was denied engrossment by the vote of sixteen to eleven, with six not voting.[55] The city of Milwaukee, home for many of the German immigrants, was the scene of considerable conflict over the religious issue in education. (In 1880, Milwaukee's total population was 115,587 of whom 46,073, or approximately 40 percent, were foreign born.)[56] The Milwaukee Common Council in 1878 passed resolutions against Bible-reading and other religious devotions in the public schools. They also had called for the prohibition of clergymen acting as instructors or principals in any of the educational institutions operated by the state.

Further, they had instructed that their representatives in Madison be informed of their feelings with a request that they seek to initiate action on the state level which would accomplish what their resolution called for.[57]

As the 1880s progressed State Superintendents became increasingly more concerned with citizenship issues related to the authority and governance of the state in education, and less concerned with the traditional, Bible-based moral education role of the public schools. For instance, Robert Graham, State Superintendent, reported in 1886 that private schools "are more and more neglecting to report their enrollment to the state superintendent."[58] His successor, Jesse B. Thayer, faced with the same phenomenon, made a fervent plea for legislation which would require private schools to report their enrollment to the Superintendent's office.[59]

The Edgerton Decision: The End of an Era

In 1883, the Wisconsin Legislature had passed a law which forebade the use of textbooks in the state's public schools which would have "a tendency to inculcate sectarian instruction."[60] In 1886 several Catholic parents brought suit on behalf of their children who were pupils in the school of the City of Edgerton, Wisconsin, against the School Board of that city, over the reading of the King James version of the Bible, accompanied by devotional exercises, in the public school of that city.[61]

The Catholic parents lost their suit in the Circuit Court, but won on appeal in an unanimous decision handed down by the State Supreme Court. The decision declared that the practice of Bible-reading with attendant exercises in public schools was sectarian instruction and violated Article X, Section 3 of the Wisconsin Constitution.[62] Bible-reading was also found to constitute worship, thus contrary

to Article I, Section 18 of the Constitution.[63] The third opinion written in the 5-0 decision was the most offensive to Protestant Christians, declaring as it did that religion was a source of social strife and that the state, and all of its institutions, must be divorced from religion in all of its aspects, and be secular.[64]

Some Protestant groups and individuals, especially clergy, vociferously protested the decision. The Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians, for the most part, were vehement in their denunciations of the Court's ruling.

State Superintendent Thayer, however, viewing the decision from his perspective, wrote that the use of the Bible sometimes had an adverse effect:

> The use of the Bible, even in connection with opening exercises has been discouraged, wherever such use has provoked antagonism and contention, and other means have been advised for the inculcation of reverence, virtue and all moral qualities.[65]

He issued no complaint, as did some Protestant leaders, that the banning of the Bible from the schools would result in moral decay in students and eventually lead to the ruin of Wisconsin society. Rather, noting that the decision had come too late to be included in a recently-published school code, he sent a copy of the decision and the three opinions to school districts throughout the state, accompanied with an introduction written by him.[66]

The state's demographic statistics in 1890 hint at why public school officials at that time were interested in fostering "good citizenship" otherwise known as "Americanism." 73.7% of the population of Wisconsin was either foreign born (30.6%) or had at least one parent foreign born (43.1%).[67] Wisconsin ranked third in the states of the union as to percentage of eligible voters from foreign lands.[68] Of Wisconsin's 1,686,880 population in 1890, 629,030 had been born in Germany or had one parent born there, while only 64,716 hailed from England or had at least one parent who did.[69] "Men of the old American stock, . . . reinforced by English speaking

aliens from the British isles" may have laid "the foundations of the commonwealth of Wisconsin,"[70] but they had lost their power by 1890.

An editorial in the Wisconsin Journal of Education in 1890 perhaps expressed best what had taken place. The Court's decision in the Edgerton case, the writer mused, "simply legalizes" what had been taking place in Wisconsin's public schools.[71] That process of secularization can be seen in the shift from regarding the Bible as a lawful book to be used in the schools to engender moral behavior in 1848 to its exclusion by the Court in 1890 as "sectarian instruction." Gradually, as evidenced from the official documents of the State Superintendents, Protestantism in general and Bible-reading in particular had ceased to comprise the foundation for moral education in the public schools of Wisconsin.

Footnotes

1. Michael B. Katz, "The Origin of Public Education: A Reassessment," History of Education Quarterly, 16, 4 (Winter 1976), p. 403.

2. George H. Gallup, "Sixth Annual Gallup Poll of Attitudes Toward Public Education," Phi Delta Kappan, LVI, 1 (September 1974), p. 21.

3. Gallup, "Seventh Annual Gallup Poll of Attitudes Toward Public Education," Phi Delta Kappan, 57, 4 (December 1975), p. 228.

4. Gallup, "Eighth Annual Gallup Poll of Attitudes Toward Public Education," Phi Delta Kappan, 58, 2 (October 1976), p. 197.

5. The State of Wisconsin ex. rel. Frederick Weiss et al., Appellants, vs. The District Board of School District No. Eight of the City of Edgerton, Respondent. 76 Wis. 177 (1890).

6. Milo M. Quaife (ed.), The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846 (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1918), p. 188.

7. Quaife (ed.), The Convention of 1846 (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1919), p. 538.

8. Quaife (ed.), The Struggle over Ratification 1846-1847 (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1920), pp. 122-23.

9. Ibid., p. 95.

10. Quaife (ed.), The Attainment of Statehood (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928), p. 714.

11. The Revised Statutes of the State of Wisconsin, 1849 (Southport: C. Latham Sholes, 1849), p. 34.

12. Journal of the Convention to Form a Constitution for the State of Wisconsin (Madison: Tenney, Smith and Holt, 1848), p. 336.

13. Ibid., p. 345.

14. H. C. Whitford, "Early History of Education in Wisconsin," Reports and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, V, Part III (Madison: Atwood and Rublee, 1869), p. 343.

15. The Revised Statutes of the State of Wisconsin, 1849, pp. 404-405.

16. Eleazar Root to C. Kell (?) Eachron, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decisions in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, December 3, 1850, I, p. 94, no. 245, Archives - Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

17. Eleazar Root to William Butler, Esq., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decisions in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, August 28, 1851, I, p. 240, no. 370, Archives - Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

18. Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1960), p. 306.

19. Ibid., p. 217.

20. Azel P. Ladd to John Leith, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decision in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, February 21, 1852, I, p. 288, no. 30, Archives - Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

21. Azel P. Ladd to A. B. Howard, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decision in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, November 15, 1853, I, p. 399, no. 30, Archives - Manuscript Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

22. Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Wisconsin, 1853 (Madison: David Atwood, 1854), p. 43.

23. Ibid., p. 23.

24. H. A. Wright to Charles A. Hastings, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decision in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, February 4, 1854, I, p 410, no. 326, Archives - Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

25. H. A. Wright to N. N. (?) Treadway, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decisions in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, June 10, 1854, I, p. 452, no. 389, Archives - Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

26. Agnew, et al. (eds.), Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography, p. 28.

27. Annual Report of the State Superintendent of the State of Wisconsin for the Year 1856 (Madison: Calkins and Proudfit, 1857), p. 73.

28. Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin, for the Year 1857 (Madison: Atwood and Rublee, 1858), p. 9.

29. Lyman C. Draper, "Moral and Religious Instruction in Public Schools," in the Tenth Annual Report on the Condition and Improvement of the Common Schools and Educational Interests of the State of Wisconsin for the Year 1858 (Madison: Atwood and Rublee, 1858), pp. 242-43.

30. Ibid., p. 244.

31. Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 544.

32. Ibid., p. XXX.

33. The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1860 (Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1860), p. 284.

34. Josiah L. Pickard, "Experiences of a Wisconsin Educator," Wisconsin Magazine of History, VII, No. 2 (December, 1923), p. 147.

35. Fourteenth Annual Report on the Condition and Improvement of the Common Schools and Educational Interests of the State of Wisconsin, for the Year 1862 (Madison: W. G. Roberts, 1862), p. 81.

36. Fifteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin, for the Year Ending August 31, 1863 (Madison: William J. Park, 1863), p. 109.

37. A. J. Craig to Geo. A. Stahl, Esq., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Decisions in Appeals, Series 5/3/6-1, February 16, 1860, II, p. 389, Archives - Manuscripts Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

38. Tenth Annual Report on the Condition and Improvement of the Common Schools and Educational Interests of the State of Wisconsin, for the Year 1858 (Madison: Atwood and Rublee, 1858), p. 246; Twelfth Annual Report on the Condition and Improvement of the Common Schools and Educational Interests of the State of Wisconsin, for the Year 1860 (Madison: James Ross, 1860), p. 80; Fifteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin, for the Year Ending August 31, 1863 (Madison: William J. Park, 1863), p. 102.

39. "Religion in Schools," Wisconsin Journal of Education (NS), I, No. 3 (September, 1864), p. 80.

40. "Mr. McMynn's Address," Wisconsin Journal of Education, VI, No. 3 (September, 1861), p. 78.

41. Francis Wayland, The Elements of Moral Science, edited by Joseph L. Blau (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 130.

42. Ibid., p. 132.

43. Ninth Census-Volume I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 324-25.

44. Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac and Ordo, For the Year of Our Lord 1870 (New York: D. J. Sadlier and Co., 1870), pp. 220, 196.

45. Agnew, et al. (eds.), Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography, p. 126.

46. "The Relation of the Church to the Common School," in the Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Session of the Wisconsin Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1870 (Milwaukee: Index Printing Office, 1870), p. 29.

47. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

48. "Moral Lessons," Wisconsin Journal of Education (NS), XI, No. 2 (February, 1881), p. 76.

49. William Torrey Harris is an excellent example of this practice. See Selwyn K. Troen, The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), especially pp. 45-54 and 154-56, for an excellent treatment of Harris' position.

50. Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), pp. 446, 492-495.

51. Sadliers' Catholic Directory, Almanac, and Ordo, For the Year of Our Lord 1880 (New York: D. J. Sadlier and Co., 1880), pp. 76, 276, 288.

52. State of Wisconsin. In Assembly. 1878. Vol. I. Bill 91A.

53. In Assembly. Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Session of the Wisconsin Legislature. 1878. (Madison: David Atwood, Stereotyper and Printer, 1878), p. 766.

54. State of Wisconsin. In Senate. 1878. Bill 95S.

55. In Senate. Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Session of the Wisconsin Legislature. 1878. (Madison: David Atwood, Printer and Stereotyper, 1878), p. 348.

56. Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 456.

57. Proceedings of the Common Council and Ordinances of the City of Milwaukee for the Year Ending April 17th, 1878 (Published by Order of the Council, 1878), pp. 250-51.

58. Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of the State of Wisconsin, For The Two Years Ending June 30, 1886 (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1886), p. 19.

59. Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of the State of Wisconsin, For The Two Years Ending June 30, 1888 (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1888), p. 19.

60. The Laws of Wisconsin, Except City Charters and Their Amendments, Passed at the Biennial Session of the Legislature of 1883 (Madison: Democrat Printing Co., State Printer, 1883), Chapter 253, Section 4, pp. 202-03.

61. The State of Wisconsin ex rel., Frederick Weiss et al., Appellants v. District Board of School District No. Eight of the City of Edgerton, Respondent. 76 Wis. 177 (1890).

62. Justice William Penn Lyon, Opinion, Decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin Relating to the Reading of the Bible in Public Schools (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1890), pp. 12-22.

63. Justice John B. Cassoday, Opinion. Decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin Relating to the Reading of the Bible in Public Schools (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1890), pp. 23-32.

64. Justice Harlow S. Orton, Opinion, Decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin Relating to the Reading of the Bible in the Public Schools (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1890), pp. 32-35.

65. Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of the State of Wisconsin, For the Two Years Ending June 30, 1890 (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1890), pp. 43-44.

66. Jesse B. Thayer, "The Bible in the Public Schools," Official Letter in Decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin Relating to the Reading of the Bible in the Public Schools (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1890).

67. Reports of the Immigration Commission. Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910. Distribution of Immigrants 1850-1900. Vol. III (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970), p. 471. Originally published at Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

68. Ibid., p. 430.

69. Ibid., p. 522.

70. Quaife, Wisconsin: Its History and Its People, I (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Co., 1924), p. 447.

71. "Editorial," Wisconsin Journal of Education, XX, No. 5 (May, 1890), p. 192.